614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 776 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 551 197 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 614 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

•551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/8 cont./

621 [551] [127] The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The [361] [368] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 551 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say [614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/.. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*cha*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*). women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another, those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemue (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

"Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), ". . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), ". . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'real' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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614 613 exception, both names (lineage and clan) are inherited from the father.

[178] [612] In the more acculturated communities the clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system, [582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same 613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered

[R. 214 - B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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551 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded moments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

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[614] In the more conservative municipios the clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

[P. 214-C]

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

591 These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 between members of the community to identify persons in refer-
551 ences--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal
551 names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or
601 compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature;
554 (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

553 A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day," the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of the preceding generation, two such individuals with the same Christian and surnames then standing in a /HELOL/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles--that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances--is the subject of further investigation.

• 551 Christian names may be used alone or with surnames in reference to persons; surnames are not used alone. The minor subclass of names which can be identified as surnames reflects family membership in that lineally related males and their female siblings share a surname. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this surname, nor will they share a single surname among themselves. This distribution of surnames corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a married couple receive the surname of the male parent.

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the corpus.

(1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is

551 transformed into a Spanish equivalent. Thus the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /*ENTIS/, may refer to himself and be referred to by others as /*ERNANDES/ as well as by the Tzeltal equivalent /*ENTIS/. The variables that determine this variation are unknown to us.

(2) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /MENTES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /MENTES TONTON/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is associated with males of the set of lineal kin. This is a low frequency occurrence variant and the conditions of its appearance are unknown to us.

(3) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of which has the surname /PERES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /PERES HWARES/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is identical with the surname (as previously defined) of the mother. The contexts in which the father's surname plus mother's surname appear are in part determined by the demands of ladinos who prefer a pattern of surnames which resembles their own. So, for example, this variant pattern appears on birth and death certificates, on censuses, and on bills and receipts.

60 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[56 1] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[55] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

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•551 tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
•551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 608 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 602 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
• 551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 608 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as follows:

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alferezes*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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Table 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			53
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko?ton			14
Bautista Sa?ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			29
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u²u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wil* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assigned a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) ,1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] [843] [842] lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [598] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [496] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*lučilum*) and stony soil (*kelilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
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157 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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system of giving nicknames, which is based on behavior typical for an individual but considered unusual by the community (Table 31). Many of these names are acquired in drinking sessions, or they may be passed down from father to son. Women of the community do not have nicknames, perhaps because they do not often drink in groups until they are

TABLE 31. Nicknames

Nickname	*Reason given for nickname*
Mono (Monkey)	He acts like a fool.
Nulkačo (Horn of bull)	He once ate the horn of a bull.
Purga (Purgative)	When he was young, he had a great deal of diarrhea. As he grew older, people asked him how he grew and he said, *"pura purga."*
Soltero (Soldier)	He was once in the army.
Obiskú (Bishop)	When he was young, he made a hat which looked like a bishop's.
Chanal (Town of Chanal)	Formerly he had given lodging to Chanaleños who passed through town.
Mam ti?el mut (Man bitten by a chicken)	He had a chicken who bit him.
Mam čok (Beggar)	He was always borrowing things and not returning them.
Hwečol (Meal of sausage)	When he was president, he used to collect fines and ask his companions what they wanted to eat. They always replied "sausage," and so they had many a meal of sausage.
Mam sel pat (Torn shoulder)	He always wore an old, torn kotonču because he was afraid someone would steal it if he wore a new one when he was drunk.
Lo čiol (Tomatoes)	He ate a lot of tomatoes.
Heowa (Jehovah)	When he was drunk, he used to say to his companions, "You do not know of God, but his name is Jehovah."
Yakan tz'i? (Longbone of dog)	He was an orphan, but he grew quickly like a dog.
Tz'a yok (Short-legged)	He was short.
Rečo (Right [side])	When he was drunk he used to say that others didn't know what the revolution was like, but he did because he was in it. He used to shout, *"Flanko, recho"* (to the right flank).

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old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals.

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior.

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them:

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29),[2] only two resulted in federal action.

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
114 361 602 592 591 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 613 592 •551 621 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 613 551 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
•551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.